DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 450 619 HE 033 791

AUTHOR	Knowles, Marjorie Fine; Harleston, Bernard W.
TITLE	Achieving Diversity in the Professoriate: Challenges and Opportunities.
INSTITUTION	American Council on Education, Washington, DC.
SPONS AGENCY	Ford Foundation, New York, NY.
PUB DATE	1997-00-00
NOTE	31p.
AVAILABLE FROM	American Council on Education, Publications AD, Department 36, Washington, DC 20055-0036 ($14.95). Tel: 301-604-9073; Fax: 301-604-0158; Web site: www.acenet.edu.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*College Faculty; Cultural Awareness; *Diversity (Faculty); Equal Opportunities (Jobs); Higher Education; Leadership; *Minority Group Teachers; Racial Differences; Research Universities; *Teacher Recruitment

ABSTRACT

The barriers to increased diversity of the faculty at elite research universities were studied, and an effort was made to identify some solutions to the problem of diversifying faculty. Eleven major research universities participated in the study. Site visits were held at each campus, with interviews with the president, other administrators, and minority faculty and graduate students. Interviews were also held with officers of three foundations that have an interest in faculty diversity. Section 1 of this report relates what was learned about barriers to increasing the number of minority faculty members and minority graduate students. All the administrators identified the primary problem as one of the size of the "pool" of available candidates. Faculty members and graduate students identified a number of other factors. Section 2 describes some of the initiatives that have been undertaken to reduce the barriers on various campuses. The last section offers the impressions and recommendations of the researchers. At the institutions that had the most success in increasing the numbers of minority faculty members the commitment of the president was recognized throughout the layers of administration. At other campuses, the commitment of the president to increasing faculty diversity was not recognized or mentioned in interviews. Another overriding impression was the sense of isolation and fatigue felt by minority graduate students at many of these institutions. Recommendations center on increased recruiting efforts with the cooperation of foundations and professional associations. Appendixes contain a list of study contact people and a list of the number of Ford fellows employed at the institutions participating in the study. (SLD)

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Marjorie Fine Knowles
and
Bernard W. Harleston

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A Report for the American Council on Education

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Marjorie Fine Knowles
and
Bernard W. Harleston

A Report for
the American Council on Education.
Published with the generous support
of The Ford Foundation.

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This publication was produced on an Apple Macintosh Centris 610
using Aldus PageMaker 6.0 software.

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Introduction

Over the past several decades, the number of doctoral degrees awarded to persons of color has increased, as has private funders' support of fellowship programs; The Ford Foundation in particular has provided significant support for such programs. However, the faculties of the elite research universities have not become increasingly diverse. To be sure, there are some significant exceptions. A small group of research universities has had pronounced success in recruiting faculty of color to a variety of departments. However, such universities are few. The Ford Foundation sought to learn why this is so, to identify the barriers to increased diversity of the faculty at elite research universities, and to seek solutions to the problem. The present project, administered by the American Council on Education, was undertaken to address these questions.

In September 1994, Susan V. Berresford, then vice president of The Ford Foundation, invited the presidents of 11 major research universities to participate in a Foundation study to be undertaken by the authors, Harleston and Knowles. The presidents of the following institutions were contacted: Columbia, Duke, Harvard, Princeton, Stanford, the University of California at Los Angeles, the University of Chicago, the University of Michigan, the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Texas, and Yale. (Although one institution has a chancellor as its chief executive officer, the term "president" is used for the sake of simplicity.) Each agreed to participate.

As part of the project, we visited each participating campus. (See Appendix A for a list of the people who served as hosts for these visits.) During each site visit, we met with the president, the provost, other administrators having responsibility for and interest in faculty diversity, minority

faculty members, and minority graduate students. We also solicited institutional data on minority faculty recruitment and retention, as well as minority graduate student recruitment and retention. Some data were available, but often they were not comparable either over time or among institutions.

We also met with the officers of three other foundations that have an interest in faculty diversity—the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Pew Charitable Trusts, and the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation—as well as with leaders of higher education associations in Washington, DC. Staff of the National Research Council also provided important information.

In Section I of this report, we relate what was reported about barriers to increasing the number of minority faculty members and minority graduate students. It was striking to us that all the administrators with whom we met identified the issue as "a pool problem"; that is, there are not enough minority faculty candidates, or minority undergraduates applying to graduate school, to provide an adequate pool. While this was the singular issue identified by administrators, from presidents to department chairs, both minority faculty members and minority graduate students identified a number of other factors. In Section I, we first describe the views of university administrators, then follow these with the different perspectives of minority faculty members and graduate students.

In Section II, we describe some of the initiatives that have been undertaken to reduce the barriers on various campuses. In the last section, we offer our own impressions and recommendations.

We are aware that this report is a limited one—limited to 11 major research universities and to arts and sciences faculties. It is limited further by the fact that only two consultants were involved in the project.

The generous support of The Ford Foundation made this project possible. We are especially grateful to Susan V. Berresford, president; Alison Bernstein, vice-president; and Edgar Beckham, program officer of the foundation. Their support, encouragement, and critical insights greatly enriched our work. We also are most grateful to participants from each of the institutions, all of whom were hospitable, resourceful, and helpful.

SECTION I

Problems or Barriers?

Issues Identified by University Administrators

Administrators identified the following barriers to increased faculty and graduate student diversity: "the pool problem"; the decentralized nature of faculty recruitment and graduate student admissions; and faculty reluctance to review curricula.

The "pool problem" was identified overwhelmingly as the number one issue in the recruitment of minority faculty members. The small number of minority Ph.D. candidates, especially in certain fields, was cited consistently. Even in those fields in which there are relatively more minority Ph.D. candidates, their still small number was offered repeatedly as the reason for the scarcity of minority group members on arts and sciences faculties. However, administrators and faculty members alike agreed that they recruit from only a few Ph.D.-granting institutions—institutions that do not award the greatest number of minority Ph.D.s. They described this as recruiting "from a funnel with too small an opening."

We were told that restricting recruitment to this small group of Ph.D.-granting institutions is justified by assurances that individuals earning degrees from those schools would be able to teach the high-quality students at major research universities and that the references and grades coming from these institutions' departments could be relied upon. A department might be willing to recruit a graduate student from a less elite university, but the prevailing fear is that hiring a faculty member—and particularly a minority faculty member—from a less well-known or less highly ranked school could lead to "problems." At one institution, two candidates applied for an opening in a department. They were described as equally well qualified for the job; one was minority, one was not; one had a degree

from a prominent state university, the other from an elite university. The non-minority candidate with the degree from the elite university got the job, and the reason was that "in the end, we were more confident that the applicant from [the elite university] could teach our students." This "risk aversion" is displayed in other ways. One administrator mentioned that 20 years ago, his department had had an African American faculty member and "it hadn't worked out"; this seemed to him a sufficient explanation of why his department is still all white.

When we described The Ford Foundation fellowships and asked how many of these fellows might be on the faculty at a particular institution, most people with whom we spoke were surprised to discover how few were at their elite schools. According to the most recent study of the 1,013 Ford fellows selected since 1986, only 70 were on the arts and sciences faculties of the 11 universities we visited in 1994. (See Appendix B.) Forty-four of these 70 fellows were at three universities; the remaining 26 were scattered among the other eight institutions. At one university, we were given a list of the Compton fellows who either were in that particular institution's graduate school or who had earned their degrees there. The administrators who gave us the list were surprised at how few had jobs at elite research universities, though this Ph.D.-granting university certainly fit in the "elite" category. Some campus administrators asked how they could locate the Ford fellows or recipients of other similar prestigious fellowships. We referred them to the *Directory of Fellows*, published by the National Research Council. Few institutions, if any, seem to make use of these kinds of resources.

At several campuses, most administrators, including department chairs, seemed unaware of the resources available to assist them in recruiting minority faculty. Administrators may be aware of techniques that can be used to attract and develop minority scholars, but they have failed to make use of them. It is unclear whether the primary barrier is lack of knowledge or lack of will, though it most likely is a combination of both.

Most major research universities have highly decentralized governance structures, and faculty hiring is done primarily at the department level. However, identification, recruitment, and retention of personnel seemed like a foreign subject to many department chairs (except as they had personal acquaintance with it through their own careers or those of colleagues). The possibilities that minority candidates might be in different networks and that they might react differently to various recruitment approaches seemed to be novel concepts. Faculty search committees apparently are rarely briefed or educated on recruiting for diversity. One consequence of this is that the task of identifying and recruiting minority and female candidates usually falls to the one minority or female member of the search committee;

this both increases the burden on often over-burdened junior faculty members and allows everyone else to remain "off the hook," safe in the belief that someone else is working to solve the problem.

The decentralized nature of elite institutions and the concomitant diffusion of power are significant barriers to increased faculty diversity. Several presidents and provosts described what they perceive to be their very limited ability to influence faculty hiring decisions. Some presidents have tried various strategies (described in the next section of this report), but the overriding sense is that they have a very limited range of motion in this area.

The diffuse nature of faculty and graduate student recruitment may make it difficult for any president to monitor effectively the enforcement of his or her mandate, especially if such a mandate does not extend beyond rhetoric. For example, one president assured us of his commitment to the goal of diversity. A faculty member at that university had developed an effective recruiting strategy for graduate students: At professional meetings, he established relationships with faculty members from elite, historically black colleges. During the school year, he built these relationships by telephone, encouraging his colleagues to send outstanding prospective graduate students to his institution. However, the faculty member's department chair complained about the cost of the telephone bills. Yet higher long distance bills seem a relatively small price to pay for a presidential commitment to diversity. Either the department chair was unaware of the president's commitment, or he did not think it was authentic.

We were reminded repeatedly of the small numbers involved in faculty recruitment; financial constraints have required that faculty size be reduced or, at best, kept constant. This problem is exacerbated by the absence of mandatory retirement.

Faculty recruitment usually is initiated at the department level, with approval required from various administrative levels. Faculty tend to define categories or fields for searches in traditional ways. We were told that department chairs "put no energy" into recruiting minority faculty members or minority graduate students. One person said, "Many people interpret academic freedom as doing things we've always done," so there is little incentive to explore different recruiting networks or to "look where you are not used to looking." The exceptions were at those few institutions where the president had made increasing the number of faculty and graduate students of color a top priority and had taken steps to make change happen.

Many university administrators seemed unaware of the special burdens borne by minority faculty members—what one minority faculty member called "the cultural tax," which includes heavy committee and advising

work as well as substantial community involvement. Not only are minority faculty members well aware of this "tax," but so, too, are minority graduate and undergraduate students; they often perceive faculty of color as over-stressed, over-tired, and under-appreciated. Thus, minority faculty members often unwittingly become negative role models. Minority graduate students have the same experience; many say they have two jobs: being a graduate student and serving their communities.

The "cultural tax" often is the combined result of university administrators' desire to have minorities represented on each committee and minority faculty members' own sense that their participation may make a difference. Minority participation *can* make a difference both in faculty recruiting and in graduate student admissions. But the extra burden of committee work—serving on more committees than a similarly situated white male junior faculty member would, for example—takes time away from the research and writing minority faculty members want and need to do.

A related issue of which administrators seem only marginally aware is that because of their desire to serve their communities, minority faculty and graduate students of color often find themselves drawn to applied research rather than more theoretical, or pure, research. The latter carries higher prestige in the academic world, and minority graduate students are aware that the "big names" or "stars" in any given field tend to be in pure research. This stratification has important implications ranging from who gets funding for what, to who gets letters of recommendation for job openings, to who sits on prestigious committees, to whose articles get published in which journals.

Barriers Identified by Minority Faculty Members and Minority Graduate Students

Faculty Recruitment

Minority faculty members and graduate students are aware of the "pool problem," but they ascribe their small numbers to other factors as well. First among these is the often subtle issue of curricular needs. On most campuses, departments define the curricular need for which a vacancy is advertised. On some campuses, deans or other senior administrators have sought to review these definitions with department chairs and members of departmental recruitment committees. When a department consistently defines its curricular needs in the same way, it tends to replicate itself. This may be wise. However, the traditional curriculum may not provide as many oppor-

tunities for minority faculty recruitment as a redefined curriculum would. Furthermore, it may not be responsive to changes in either the academic field or student needs. Minority faculty members and graduate students repeatedly pointed out how departments define minority scholars out of the pool of candidates. Many departments do so feeling confident that their one minority member can "take care of all that other stuff," i.e., new or nontraditional scholarship, including work on race or gender. At one institution, we were told that the members of a religion department decided they could recruit yet another expert in Western religions, secure in the knowledge that their one minority junior faculty member could cover all "the other stuff" for which there is increased undergraduate and graduate student demand; this "other stuff" includes all non-Western religions as well as new knowledge about traditional faiths. Departments usually become more diverse as their curricula evolve in response to changing scholarship and changing student interests; for example, an English department at a major university has a diverse faculty because it offers a curriculum that includes a range of world literatures.

Curricular issues relate directly to the broader question of what diversity means. At some institutions, it means adding people of color to departments. At others, it means thinking through the intellectual content of the disciplines and considering the range of the curriculum. How this question is addressed depends on how diversity is conceptualized; that conceptualization in turn, depends on the intellectual tone set by the relevant leaders: the department chair, provost, and president.

Two more general observations are warranted. First, minority faculty felt that most university administrators—at their own institutions and at others—suffered from "narrowness of reference"; that is, administrators were unfamiliar with the work of minority scholars, never referred to it in their speeches, and failed to note minority scholars' achievements or accomplishments. University administrators are unfamiliar with minority literature, they said; their intellectual frame of reference has never been expanded beyond their original "white" frame of reference. Several administrators with whom we met seemed to exhibit this narrowness of reference. "Narrowness of reference" includes the assumption that African American scholars excel only in "their" subjects. For example, one administrator assured us of his concern for increased diversity but said it would be inappropriate to seek a minority candidate for medieval history; rather, he said, you should seek them in their "natural fields of interest," such as African American history or urban sociology.

Second, few administrators see the issue in the same way that many minority faculty members do: "How can we create in a white institution an environment that will nurture faculty and graduate students of color?"

University administrators generally do not frame the question in that way. They define diversity as adding people of color, but they do not consider the possibility that the institution itself might have to, or should, change.

Graduate Student Recruitment

Administrators at most campuses indicated that it is difficult to recruit minority graduate students because of the lure of better paying and more visible professions, such as law and medicine. But, as one academic leader asked, do minority graduate students feel *excluded from* graduate school or *pulled into* law and medicine? The decision to go to graduate school appears to be highly personal for many students of color. In response to our question of why they had come to graduate school, nearly every minority student with whom we met reported doing so because someone convinced them that they could and should do so. Some reported that they still were in contact with the mentor who had influenced them in undergraduate school. This was true in part because they found the faculty members in their graduate departments unhelpful. Being perceived as, or having a reputation for, being uncaring and unsupportive reduces departments' chances of successfully recruiting students of color.

Minority graduate students reported that the decentralized nature of large research universities may pose difficulties for minority students, many of whom feel overwhelmed by the number of white people on campus. Often, these students feel isolated to begin with. It may be that many minority students experience graduate school differently from their white counterparts. As one student said, white faculty members seem to relate to white graduate students and help them because they look like their own sons and daughters. "*I* don't look like anyone's daughter here," she said. Minority students do not feel mentored and they do not feel supported in the way they perceive white graduate students are. Perceptions of the comfort level of white graduate students may not be accurate, but this sense of isolation and lack of support was nearly universal among the minority graduate students with whom we met.

These considerations raise a number of related issues. First, minority graduate students who feel alienated and under-valued may transmit their perceptions to minority undergraduates, thus helping to dissuade the very people universities want to recruit from even expressing an interest in pursuing graduate school.

Second, as noted above, "the cultural tax" borne by many minority faculty members may leave them so burdened that they become negative role models. In addition, nearly all the people we interviewed complained about the relative lack of information about the Ph.D., possible career options, and what generally is available to individuals who have earned

doctorates. Undergraduates usually have access to pre-med and pre-law clubs or advisors, or both. Most often, no such clubs or advisors are available to aspiring university researchers and teachers. Finally, the lack of a support system at the graduate level is striking as compared with that usually available in professional schools, which often have deans of student services, faculty advisors, and extensive orientation and placement programs. As one minority graduate student said, "In graduate school, you're on your own." The findings of a Mellon Foundation study have demonstrated the importance of a support system: With respect to the Minority Undergraduate Fellowship Program, activities on campus that "foster a sense of group identity" increase the percentage of students who enroll in Ph.D. programs.

Where they do exist, such support programs for graduate students were praised; one student described the availability of a support program as "making it possible for me to stay sane." This was said of a black Ph.D. forum where students meet regularly to present their research. This student said she also went to the Latino group because she draws strength from being with people of color. Many students reported that these kinds of activities are especially important because their families and communities often do not understand what they are doing in graduate school or where it will lead. We were told repeatedly that while there are role models in minority communities for aspiring lawyers or doctors, there are few—if any—for aspiring academics. Moreover, there is a real lack of knowledge about job possibilities after graduate school. As a society, we do not present a clear image of academic life or of its rewards; there is no "L.A. Law" or "E.R." about life in the professoriate.

With respect to the problems which the decentralized and often diffuse nature of graduate studies imposes—problems minority students perceive as visiting greater hardships on them—nearly every administrator and faculty member we interviewed said that graduate school should be re-examined. However, there is no widespread evidence that this is being done. The Mellon Foundation has a program to involve selected departments in rethinking their graduate programs, but few people we interviewed described efforts in this regard. Where it is happening, the process is necessarily a department-by-department effort and is proceeding at a rather slow pace.

With respect to minority graduate student recruitment, as with minority faculty recruitment, most of the students and faculty of color with whom we met thought there ought to be more risk-taking. Indeed, some departments at certain institutions are relying less on traditional measures, such as GRE scores, and more on undergraduate research papers and the like. Some departments have become aware that faculty of color and women read and evaluate applicant files differently from white men.

When faculty of color and women are more strongly represented on faculty recruitment and graduate admission committees, more minority and female candidates are accepted.

Just as faculty of color often have a service and teaching orientation, so, too, do many minority graduate students; thus, many of the implications for graduate students are the same as for faculty members, particularly with regard to references, publications, etc. In addition, many minority graduate students have special financial burdens, such as being expected to help support extended family. As one president told us, money for graduate fellowships is the hardest to raise. But it may be even more crucial for minority graduate students than for others.

Another difficult issue is the potential graduate student who needs additional training, usually because of a deficiency in his or her undergraduate program. A range of suggestions have been made for dealing with this situation: one is to refuse admission to such a student because the risk of failure is "too great"; a second is to admit the student like any other; a third is to provide additional training, either before or after admission into the graduate program. One mentor to minority graduate students told us that the nature of the deficiency should not matter, observing that faculty seemed to have no trouble giving one potentially successful student an extra year to improve his or her English, but demurred at extra training in laboratory techniques for a student with equal potential whose undergraduate school had substandard facilities.

SECTION II

Strategies and Initiatives

As noted earlier, a common response to the question of why there are relatively few faculty and graduate students of color at the institutions we visited was that the pool of candidates was so small. Few of those with whom we spoke—most notably administrators—felt any obligation to develop strategies to try to increase the size of the pool; nevertheless, some institutions have developed imaginative and strongly supported strategies and programs to increase their numbers of faculty and graduate students of color.

Strategies to Increase Faculty Diversity

Recruiting Established Senior Faculty ("Stars")

Several institutions have sought aggressively and continue to seek to attract senior scholars of color from other elite universities. The goals of such recruiting are to establish and strengthen academic excellence, to provide role models as well as a "magnet" to attract graduate students of color, and to strengthen recruitment efforts by having these "stars" participate in the recruitment of both students and junior faculty of color. This strategy works reasonably well for the recruiting institution, but it creates difficulties, as well: It adversely affects faculty representation at the "losing" institutions, and it is disruptive to graduate students who have enrolled specifically to work with a faculty member who then leaves. These students often feel abandoned in an environment many of them already find minimally supportive. Thus, unless it is carefully managed, this strategy may interfere

with the progress of some graduate students and may come to be a substitute, rather than an instrument, for increasing the number of faculty of color.

Establishing Special Funds to Support the Appointment and Retention of Faculty of Color Both for Selected Departments or Programs and as Targets of Opportunity, Independent of Departmental, Curricular, or Programmatic Needs

One institution provides full support from the central administration budget for minority faculty during the entire pre-tenure period. Other institutions provide decreasing support over a three-year period, so that by the fourth year, the faculty member is supported fully by the department's budget. While such opportunities most often are overseen by the dean of the faculty or the provost, these and other efforts related to increasing faculty diversity are sometimes coordinated by a senior officer whose primary responsibility is oversight of the recruitment and retention of faculty of color. We found some evidence that appointments made through this process were viewed with resentment by non-minority faculty because of the "special treatment" implicit in them. In addition, non-minority faculty often perceived that such faculty were less competent than faculty appointed through the regular departmental process.

Establishing Post-Doctoral Positions in the Humanities and Social Sciences to Provide New Scholars of Color with Opportunities to Pursue Research and Scholarly Activities Before They Are Appointed to Tenure-Track Faculty Positions

Although this strategy is in place at only a couple of the institutions we visited, it appears to be one that could be successfully implemented by all of the institutions. However, as we explored this option in conversations at various institutions, we often encountered resistance and concern that such a policy was unfair and amounted to "special treatment."

Strategies for Recruiting and Supporting Graduate Students of Color

Recruiting

- Support senior faculty of color to recruit for their own and other programs.

- Establish a critical mass by recruiting students of color to particular programs or departments in numbers designed to result in a "critical mass," thereby helping students avoid feeling isolated or alone.
- Establish ongoing relations with historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs).
- Participate in the Leadership Alliance, a group of 20 schools, including some Ivy League schools and some HBCUs, which sponsors a program that makes it possible for students from HBCUs to do summer internships at research universities.
- Use the Locator Service from Educational Testing Service (ETS) and participate in the National Name Exchange Program to identify potential graduate students of color.
- Participate in the Minority Graduate Pipeline Project developed by the Consortium on Financing Higher Education and funded by the Mellon Foundation.
- Invite applicants and prospective applicants to visit the institution for an extended weekend to familiarize them with programs and resources and to reassure them that they will be welcome.

No one institution engages in all of these activities. Certain institutions, however, use various combinations of these strategies and are convinced that they have contributed considerably to their success in attracting minority candidates.

Financial Support for Graduate Students of Color

Support for graduate students of color comes from a variety of sources, some external to institutions and others internal. In some cases, a combination of sources is used. External sources include The Ford Foundation Predoctoral and Dissertation Fellowships, the Mellon Foundation Doctoral Fellowships, the Compton Fellowships (currently being phased out), and National Science Foundation (NSF) Fellowships. Internal sources of support include trustee fellowships, university fellowships, named fellowships, departmental fellowships, and teaching and research assistantships. In general, internal fellowships come from endowed funds, some of which have been solicited and earmarked for supporting graduate students of color. Some fellowships provide support for the entire period of graduate study, while others provide up to four years of support. This difference is of considerable significance: The availability of support throughout the doctoral program increases the probability that students of color will finish

in a timely fashion. Indeed, it is the experience of most institutions that as long as financial support is predictable and stable, there are no differences between minority and non-minority students in their rate of progress toward the degree or in attrition. However, as uncertainty about financial support after the first four years increases, or if support is reduced after the first four years, the time to completion and/or the probability of attrition increases disproportionately for students of color, who often have greater financial need.

Graduate students at several institutions spoke of two problems related to the award of fellowships. One is the perception that because they have fellowships through the university, their departments assume no responsibility for their well-being and direct their attention to non-minority graduate students. This heightens the feeling of isolation that so many students of color report. The other problem is that many students of color gain little or no teaching experience because they have fellowship support and thus do not need support from teaching assistantships. Some institutions have recognized these problems and have modified their support programs to include matching contributions from departments and to require that all graduate students received mentored research and teaching experience during their doctoral studies.

Strategies to Provide Environmental Support to Students of Color

In addition to providing financial support, some institutions have sought to enhance the educational environment for graduate students of color. Several institutions have appointed a person to serve as coordinator of support services for both applicants and matriculants of color. At a few institutions, specially prepared resource guides are made available for minority students. Some institutions offer special orientation programs and pre-matriculation summer institutes for students of color. Some institutions also provide support for students to host and/or attend national conferences to learn about research on topics of interest to them and to network with other students and faculty of color.

At a few institutions, an individual faculty member takes it upon himself or herself to create a supportive environment. At one institution, a faculty member in the basic sciences serves as an informal advisor to students of color, providing career counseling, tutorial resources, information about programs and funding, and personal counseling. He makes these contributions without an official title and without the administration even knowing about his efforts. At another institution, a faculty member has organized dissertation seminars for students of color. A senior faculty member of color

at one institution has earned a national reputation for helping significant numbers of persons of color earn Ph.D.s in physics. At yet another institution, the majority of the graduate students of color are enrolled in two programs, each of which is headed by a faculty member of color. Examples such as these should be rewarded and expanded.

Programs to respond to the needs of graduate students of color *are* in place, but this area is woefully under-developed and in urgent need of greater attention and support. Graduate students of color are deeply concerned about the lack of support in the environment in which they must function.

Institutions must take more creative approaches to improving the climate for and the experiences of graduate students of color. At very little expense, colleges and universities could implement a number of policies that would accomplish these goals. For example, a department could designate a faculty member or an advanced-level graduate student to work with students of color to articulate their concerns and bring them to the attention of the faculty. Entering graduate students could be paired with advanced graduate students for orientation and mentoring. Systematic efforts could be undertaken to ensure that students meet and have an opportunity to discuss their research interests with all of the faculty members in their departments. Finally, all students of color should have an opportunity to teach and to conduct research before starting their dissertations.

Undergraduate Programs Designed to Enrich and Expand the Pool of Graduate School Applicants of Color

Perhaps the second most frequent reason given for the limited size of the pool of graduate school applicants of color is the view that "market forces" operate to drive talented students of color into professional fields. The dramatic increase in the number of students of color pursuing degrees in law, medicine, and business over the last 20 years is cited frequently as the primary evidence in support of this argument. Market forces may be a contributing factor, but it is doubtful from the evidence to date that they are the only, or even the most compelling, factor. Professional schools have been far more aggressive in recruiting both women and students of color; in developing critical masses of such students in each class; in providing supportive environments; and in making their curricula relevant. Also, the path from undergraduate study to professional school is more sharply defined and is better supported by advising and counseling services. Similar services for "pre-graduate school studies" are absent from most research universities. Activities at some institutions are designed to increase minority student involvement in curricula that lead to academic and research careers,

but no focused effort is made by any of the institutions we visited or by the group of research universities as a whole. Among the more notable projects are:

- Several interventions funded by The Ford Foundation, including:
  - — A summer research program for minority students at six research universities and four liberal arts colleges;
  - — A summer research program sponsored by the Associated Colleges of the Midwest;
  - — A program sponsored by the Hudson-Mohawk Association of Colleges and Universities for minority students interested in college teaching careers;
  - — Summer intervention programs sponsored by the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, and the American Sociological Association; and
  - — Support to the Committee on Institutional Cooperation's Summer Research Opportunity Program.
- The Mellon Minority Undergraduate Fellowship Program, which includes the following significant features:
  - — The program focuses on increasing the pool of applicants of color for graduate study.
  - — Fellows engage in a variety of projects under the supervision of a faculty mentor. There is considerable evidence in the published literature that undergraduate experiences that are rich in opportunities for guided independent study and research and for one-on-one mentoring increase students' interest in pursuing graduate studies.
  - — Up to $10,000 of undergraduate loans may be reimbursed as the student pursues the doctoral degree. This loan forgiveness component is a powerful innovation because it serves as an incentive to attend graduate school.
  - — Modest stipends of $1,500 during the academic year are made available for academic assignments related to the students' interests and as an offset for financial aid work assignments.
  - — Fellows have the opportunity to participate in summer research programs carrying stipends of $3,000.

- The Howard Hughes Undergraduate Biological Sciences Program.
- The Institution-Specific Summer Research Programs and Institutes.
- Special orientation sessions for students of color to stimulate their thinking about academic careers and to inform them of opportunities in the undergraduate curriculum that would prepare them for such careers.

All of these initiatives have had positive and significant payoffs. These and similar initiatives should be expanded and intensified.

SECTION III

Impressions and Recommendations

Our visits to these 11 institutions reminded us of the significance of leadership. At each of the 11 universities, the president and often the provost spoke of the importance of diversifying the faculty and graduate student body. However, on only a few campuses had the president reinforced his or her commitment with action, and the numbers reflected that action. On those campuses, everyone with whom we met—administrators, faculty members, and graduate students—spoke of presidential commitment *and* of action taken. Faculty and administrators knew who was in charge of and responsible for institutional efforts to increase diversity. They knew what programs had been implemented and what was and was not working. They had creative ideas and solicited input regarding other strategies they could pursue. Not everyone was satisfied with the action taken, but they knew of the president's commitment and volunteered their own impressions of it.

On the other campuses, the presidents' commitment to diversity was never mentioned by the faculty members, administrators, or minority graduate students. The difference was striking. One provost told us that the president had not made time to focus on increasing faculty diversity or recruiting minority graduate students.

At the institutions that were more successful, there was presidential leadership and commitment, which penetrated through layers of administration. The combination of strength of commitment and depth of that commitment made the difference.

One other overriding impression is the sense of isolation and fatigue felt by minority graduate students at many of these institutions. Such feelings were often paralleled in conversations with minority faculty members,

especially junior faculty members. Some attention to the special needs of minority graduate students is warranted—particularly in light of their reports of what they perceive to be the differential support provided by the faculty members in their departments. In some departments, minority graduate students reported that they receive very little support and that they sometimes sense outright hostility. For example, one young Hispanic woman pursuing a doctorate in a scientific field was assured by faculty members in her department that she would never get a job. More attention needs to be paid to the special needs of minority graduate students on elite campuses.

Major Programmatic Recommendations

- Although a few of the institutions we visited have administrative offices and specific funding to assist in recruiting faculty members of color, and although presidential rhetoric is often eloquent, the goal of achieving diversity in the arts and sciences faculties across this set of institutions has low priority (with the exceptions noted above), and there is little targeted recruiting of faculty of color. We therefore recommend that foundations with programs to increase faculty diversity in higher education join in an effort to bring together the leadership of the research universities, the Association of American Universities, and the American Council on Education to examine institutional policies that serve as barriers to such recruiting and to develop plans to launch a major effort to recruit faculty of color. This will aid persons on campus who genuinely desire to increase the diversity of their faculty. Steps also should be taken to ensure that everyone involved is trained in recruiting for diversity.

- The focus of our inquiry was on faculty and graduate students of color, but it was virtually impossible to ignore the fact that these institutions have very few persons of color in university-wide or senior-level administrative positions. We recommend that research universities examine their policies for achieving diversity in administrative appointments and seek to immediately increase the representation of persons of color in policy-making administrative positions. Foundations and other funding sources should review this when these institutions seek support.

- Individuals at certain institutions are doing exceptional jobs at preparing graduate students of color for academic careers. Many are at institutions not involved in this study. These individuals are an important resource in the effort to increase the pool of persons of color for the academy. We

therefore recommend that foundations, alone or in a joint enterprise, provide multiple-year grants to an identified group of people (from diverse institutions) who have outstanding track records in attracting and training graduate students of color to permit them to enlarge and enhance their work. It would be most helpful if they also could be supported to develop junior faculty of color. In turn, these junior faculty members would work with, mentor, and support undergraduate students of color who are preparing for graduate studies and academic careers.

- We recommend that the research universities enter into an active recruiting relationship with undergraduate programs funded by the National Science Foundation and other federal agencies at institutions with large minority populations. These programs are designed to prepare students of color for graduate school and careers in areas in which they are under-represented, most notably in the sciences. One example of such programs is the NSF-funded Minority Research Centers of Excellence established at eight institutions, including the City College of New York, Hampton University, the University of Puerto Rico, Clark University, and Meharry Medical School. To initiate and facilitate communication and the exchange of information between the research universities and the leaders of such programs, we recommend that several foundations jointly sponsor an invitational conference.

- We recommend that foundations support, on an experimental basis, four or five consortia of institutions. Each of these would develop cooperative, interinstitutional programs to provide undergraduate students of color with curricular access as well as academic counseling and guidance; mentoring and research opportunities; oversight in applying to and gaining admission to graduate school within the consortium; support and mentoring during graduate studies; and guidance and support in obtaining post-doctoral funds or academic positions. We believe that such consortial arrangements will ensure that students receive consistent counseling and advising as well as academic mentoring on a continuing basis from undergraduate through graduate school. Such arrangements also would ensure a dependable, caring, and supportive environment for learning and intellectual growth. The consortia may or may not include research universities of the sort we visited, but they likely would eliminate or neutralize the many negative and dislocating aspects of the graduate school experience of so many students of color.

- We recommend that foundations develop or strengthen and expand their undergraduate fellows programs to increase the number of fellows of

color and to provide bridging support for the first year of graduate school for those students who do not receive sufficient other funding. For example, The Ford Foundation currently spends approximately $6 million on a variety of programs, some of which are up for review, renewal, or termination. As we noted earlier, the Mellon Foundation has developed and currently funds the Mellon Minority Undergraduate Fellowship Program. Unfortunately, the numbers of individuals and institutions affected by these programs are relatively small. While continuing to fund those programs which have proven successful, these and other foundations should encourage and support the development and implementation of programs that would reach large numbers of undergraduate students of color.

Appendix A: Study Contact Persons (1994–95)

Columbia University:	Stephen Rittenberg Vice Provost for Academic Administration
Duke University:	George Wright Vice Provost for University Programs
Harvard University:	James Hoyte Associate Vice President
Princeton University:	Ruth Simmons Vice Provost
Stanford University:	Patricia Araneta-Gonzalez Executive Assistant, Office of the Provost
	Robert Weisberg Vice Provost for Faculty Recruitment and Development
University of California at Los Angeles:	Lori Alvarez Administrative Analyst Office of the Associate Vice Chancellor
University of Chicago:	Kathryn R. Stell Deputy Dean of Students and Assistant to the Provost

University of Michigan:	John D'Arms Vice Provost for Academic Affairs and Dean of the Graduate School
	David Artis Assistant Professor of English and Special Assistant to the Associate Dean
University of Pennsylvania:	Stanley Chodorow Provost
University of Texas:	Jorge Chapa Associate Dean and Director Graduate Opportunity Program
Yale University:	Arlene McCord Associate Provost

Appendix B

Number of Ford fellows employed on faculties of Arts and Sciences at institutions in this study.

UCLA	15
University of Michigan	15
University of Texas, Austin	14
Harvard University	6
Yale University	5
Duke University	4
Stanford University	4
Princeton University	3
University of Chicago	2
University of Pennsylvania	1
Columbia University	1
Total	70

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Association of American Universities
F. Patrick Ellis, FSC, President
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Association of Catholic Colleges & Universities
Karen M. Kennelly, CSJ, President
Mount St. Mary's College

Association of Jesuit Colleges & Universities
John P. Schlegel, SJ, President
University of San Francisco

Council of Independent Colleges
John L. Henderson, President
Wilberforce University

National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education
Earl S. Richardson, President
Morgan State University

National Association of Independent Colleges & Universities
Michael F. Adams, President
Centre College

National Association of State Universities & Land-Grant Colleges
Frederick E. Hutchinson, President
University of Maine

National Association of Student Financial Aid Administrators
Dallas Martin, President

Association of American Medical Colleges
Paul J. Friedman, M.D.
Professor of Radiology
University of California Medical Center

Washington Higher Education Secretariat
Mary Burgan, General Secretary
American Association of University Professors

The American Council on Education wishes to thank The Ford Foundation for its generous support in the research, preparation, and production of this volume.

American Council on Education
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